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SOCIOLOGICAL APPRAISAL OF WESTERN INFLUENCE IN THE ORIENT

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It is not so many years since the countries of the Orient were practically isolated from the life and thought of the West. For centuries Japan was all but hermetically sealed against outside influence; the occasional diplomat and the trader, whose business was confined to a few points on the coast, were the only means of intercommunication between China and the Occident; while even in India foreign influence did not extend far inland. The result was that, comparatively speaking, the East deserved the epithet changeless.

Now all this has altered. Within a little more than a generation Japan has emerged from her position as a semi-mediaeval feudal country into a progressive power, which claims to be equal, if not superior, to the greatest western nations. China, Siam, and India have all been undergoing great social changes. In the case of every one of these countries, the initial impulse to change was western in its origin, often western in the agents who gave the impulse. Now the leadership is passing, or has passed, into the hands of the people themselves, but still it remains true that, directly or indirectly, western influence is at work in the Orient. Practically all the changes are being made in directions indicated by western experience, some of them because of their intrinsic worth, others in order to meet the competition and escape the domination of the West.

Before passing to our main task, that of appraising the sociological value of western influence, it will be wise to mention, first, a few of the points at which there was demand for changes in the interests of social welfare, and, secondly, the different classes of agents through whom the western influence has been exerted.

Under the first heading, we may specify eight points at which there was need of improvement:

1. *Ignorance*.—In the old days, the majority of the people in most Asiatic countries were illiterate. Education was usually monopolized by some one class or by several classes, religious or social, and, with few exceptions, women were regarded as incapable of receiving an education. Added to the ignorance of illiteracy was that of a narrow provincialism. These people believed their civilization the highest in the world, and this resulted in the stagnation of pride. The countries themselves were divided by linguistic, racial, or religious barriers into sections between which there was little communication and no unity.

2. *The low standard of living*.—The poverty of the Orient was something which had to be seen to be appreciated. As to degradation and individual suffering, it is probable that the slums of New York or London can furnish worse cases than any found in the Orient, but still the proportion of the population which was always on the verge of starvation, which was never well nourished, and which was satisfied with living conditions intolerable for our dumb animals, was appalling.

3. *Economic inefficiency*.—This low standard of living was inevitable because of the economic inefficiency of the oriental laborer. For patience, persistence, and endurance, many of the laborers of the Orient were unsurpassed, but their product was pitifully small. It is often said that the half-dozen or more servants whom a European family in India have to employ are less efficient than a single good servant in an American home. There was a similar inefficiency in many parts of the industrial sphere. There was, in many cases, great manual skill and even artistic ability, but the oriental tools were so rude that the product was small. Some of those in India have been characterized by an expert as a combination of ingenuity and stupidity.

4. *The inferior status of woman*.—Here, too, there were great variations, but in general woman was regarded by the oriental as distinctly inferior to man in ability and in character; she was often regarded as little more than a chattel; and was almost universally denied the privilege of education. Oftentimes

she was the victim of cruelty and lust, even in the name of religion. This did not mean that she was without influence, but it was that of a narrow, ignorant conservative. From her disabilities flowed serious consequences in family life.

5. *The physical suffering due to ignorance of sanitation and medical science.*—The burden of pain and premature death which came from this fact can hardly be exaggerated. Women suffered a living death, children and adults were incapacitated for any gainful occupation, and whole communities were decimated by pestilence because of the absence of sanitation, hygiene, and medicine.

6. *The lack of individual responsibility and opportunity.*—As a member of a family, guild, or caste, the individual had his own place and was cared for; as an individual he counted for little. The caste system of India made it next to impossible for a man to rise above the station into which he was born. China permitted the man of ability to rise, but the value put upon the ordinary individual was small.

7. *The corruption and inefficiency of government.*—This need not be dwelt upon further than to say that caprice often took the place of justice, in our sense of that term, that bribery, corruption, and insecurity of life and of property were at least common, if not nearly universal.

8. *Lastly, the low ethical standards.*—Here it is very easy to misrepresent the situation. Many observers have contrasted the worst side of oriental life with the best of occidental. By reversing this process, it would be possible to draw a similar indictment against our western civilization. There were different standards in different countries and in different classes, but it is no exaggeration to say that truthfulness and honesty generally did not hold the same place as with us. As to sins of lust, those in the West are contrary to our highest ethical standards, while in India the worst offenses were in the name of religion. I should hardly dare to describe what I know from personal observation and investigation.

There are noble aspects in oriental civilization, points at which we might wisely learn from them, but these must be passed

over. I have specified these weaknesses merely to indicate the task which the social reformer in the East, whether a citizen of the West or a son of the East, has assumed in order to increase the social welfare of the Orient.

Western influence, so far as it has been exerted by westerners, has come from the following classes:

1. Diplomatic and consular officers. Their influence, except as it has come from their example, has not been great.

2. Government officials, either those of the dominant government, as in British India, or as employees of the local government, as in Siam, China, and Japan.

3. Teachers, employed in secular schools maintained by local funds.

4. Representatives of western commerce and industry.

5. Missionaries, who, apart from their religious work, in the narrow meaning of that phrase, are exerting an important social influence, which was the special object of my investigations during two years of travel.

If there were time within the limits of this paper, it would be wise to ask and to answer for each of these classes of westerners and for the oriental social leaders four questions, relating (*a*) to their character, ability, and training for exerting a wise influence in the direction of social progress; (*b*) the correctness of the principles which lie back of their work; (*c*) the efficiency of the methods employed; and (*d*) the adequacy and permanency of the results so far achieved. This is impossible and we can only attempt a sociological appraisal of the value of some of the chief lines of social change produced by western influence, and then answer briefly these questions for what is by far the largest single class of westerners who are exerting such an influence, namely, the missionaries.

LINES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

1. *Education*.—The education which the Orient used to give to the favored few had little relation to modern life or thought and nothing which fitted for leadership in competition with the West. The missionary was the pioneer in introducing western

education into the East. Started by the missionary, the work has now been taken up by the people in each country. Under the lead of the British officials, India has been given an educational system heading up in five universities, which prescribe courses of study, set examinations, and confer degrees, which are the gateway through which the young men of India pass into public or commercial life. Government maintains schools, cities have their own schools, and grants-in-aid are given by government to any schools which come up to government standards. The activity of Christians in education is being emulated by Moslems and Hindus. The result of all this activity is that India contains schools of every grade from the kindergarten to the university, including technical and professional schools. India is headed in the direction of universal compulsory education, which Ceylon has already, in theory at least, attained. Japan has created within a few years a system of education from the elementary schools, attendance upon which is compulsory, up to the universities. China has discarded entirely its centuries-old system of examinations in the Chinese classics, and has provided on paper a comprehensive system of universal education, which is gradually being put into effect. Siam, too, has its schools which teach western science and other western subjects.

The effect of this education is to break down old superstitions, broaden the vision, and bring the students into touch with the life, thought, and ideals of the West. All this is good but there is another side. The system of education is too exclusively literary, as, apart from technical schools, it all looks to preparation for university courses, which are taken by a very small fraction of the student body. The remainder get the idea that they are above a life of productive activity in the industrial world and must be clerks, teachers, or officials. The supply of such candidates far exceeds the demand. Again, the education is too western in its character and tends to unfit the student for life and work among his own people. This is especially true in India and Ceylon, where the history and literature of Greece and Rome are overemphasized as compared with the literature and history of India. An extreme instance of this occurred in

Ceylon, where there is no local university and English examinations are used. It was only after a struggle that pupils were permitted to offer themselves for examination upon the botany of Ceylon and not upon the botany of Great Britain. Instances are by no means rare of students who cannot communicate with their parents because they have lost their command of the vernacular. The university men of India believe that the political theories of the West can be put into immediate operation among people whose whole history and life have been along different lines.

Japan has solved this problem of adaptation with tolerable success, and China believes in both western and Chinese education, but the two are not sufficiently welded.

Again, the education is apt to be superficial. This is true in India. Japanese education is more comprehensive than thorough, and few schools in China have competent teachers. Still more serious is the moral effect of this education. It breaks down the old religious beliefs, the old standards and sanctions, and it puts almost nothing in their place. The teaching is for the most part agnostic, if not positively anti-religious, and pupils in the life of whose nation religion and ethics have played a prominent part cannot so easily and safely adjust themselves to the agnostic position as pupils who have back of them generations of believers in Christian standards of conduct. The moral waste of the new education of the Orient is discouraging. Men are cast adrift and have no way of getting their bearings.

2. *Industry*.—There are two phases in the industrial development of the East, the development of means of communication—railroads, steamer lines, telegraphs, and postal facilities—and the growth of the factory system. Much of the provincialism of India and China has been due to isolation. The marvel is that there has been so much intercommunication by foot and by cart. These barriers are now breaking down. The railroad, the telegraph, and the post-office have extended themselves all over India and Japan. In China, the telegraph and the mail carrier are penetrating the most inaccessible parts of the empire, and the railroad will soon bring the remotest provinces within a few

days' journey of the capital. The effect of this is to break down caste in India and provincialism in China, to unify the political life of these countries, and, by greater centralization of administration, to stop the graft and injustice of local officials. On the other hand, the railroads and steamers are throwing into the ranks of the unemployed of China thousands of coolies, boatmen, carters, and innkeepers, whose occupation has vanished. It is no longer possible in India to isolate the effects of such calamities as famine and pestilence. All parts now bear their share of the burden, through the prevalence of famine prices and the spread of contagion.

Industrially, too, there have been great changes. The factory system is invading India, and Indian artisans are feeling the competition, not only of imported goods, but also of the local factory-made product. China is moving in the same direction. In weaving, it is using a more efficient hand loom, while at Han-yang, across the river from the Chicago of China, Hankow, is an up-to-date steel plant, which has even exported its products to the United States. Japan is in the full swing of industrial development along western lines. Its great industrial plants closely resemble those of the United States.

All this gives promise of increasing wealth, higher standards of living, greater comforts, and a richer life. At the same time, it means that China, India, and Japan are either facing or are already struggling with all these phases—industrial, social, sanitary, and moral—of industrial centers with which the West is far too familiar. It is a suggestive fact that the slum problem has entered Asia through following the example of the West. What is worse is that these people do not have the high western sense of the value of the life of the individual, and are, comparatively speaking, without any restraining influence similar to our enlightened public opinion, which has been aroused by the struggles of a century of industrial strife. Unless these elements can be supplied, there is danger of suffering and of abuses worse than any the West has known.

3. *Medicine*.—Within a generation, Japan has created for herself a corps of competent physicians and surgeons. She is also

as rapidly as possible applying the principles of sanitation to the problems of public health. In India, the British government recognizes the importance of medicine and sanitation and there is a regular body of scientifically trained physicians throughout the country. However, their number and their training are often inferior, and the ignorance of the people and their social customs make it impossible fully to relieve suffering or to do more than reduce the ravages of cholera and plague. China is practically without competent physicians. Medical missionaries and those trained by them have the field almost to themselves, although now the government is aiding and supporting medical schools. Those in a position to judge affirm that there is a greater amount of unnecessary physical suffering in China today than in any other part of the world. Western medicine is now entering China, both helpfully and otherwise, for China is now getting, not only fully trained European and Chinese physicians, but also charlatans, who pretend to a knowledge and skill utterly foreign to them, and dealers in patent medicines as well. In nearly every bazaar drugs are sold to those who have no knowledge whatever of their proper use. The poster nuisance is found in China and the most widely advertised medicines are nostrums for the diseases of vice.

4. *Political movements.*—In the sphere of government the most significant change is the growth of the nationalistic spirit. The day when the West could dominate and control with arrogance the great peoples of Asia has passed. Japan has always possessed a spirit of proud independence, and ever since she emerged from her isolation she has bent every effort to secure recognition as the peer of any western power. The same purpose is back of the political and social development of China. China is proud of her ancient civilization and of the fact that she has gone serenely on her way during the rise and fall of the successive empires of the West. She is firmly resolved to end forever the day when the young western nations can bully and despoil her. The provincial spirit is growing into a national spirit and China is resolved, at the earliest possible day, to make herself strong enough to control China for the Chinese. Into

the question of the unrest of India, which has voiced itself in protests and in bombs, we cannot enter. Suffice it to say that leaders who have been trained and educated by Britain and have been taught the political philosophy of the western nations are demanding a greater control over their own affairs, either as a member of the British Empire or as an independent people.

In all these movements there is one almost fatal weakness. It is a moral one, the lack of broad-minded, public-spirited, and utterly incorruptible leaders. I would not be misunderstood. There are some, even many, such in each of these countries, and their number is growing, but they are still too few to insure the success of their work. A narrow self-seeking is far too common in India, the most atrocious graft still exists in China, and leaders in Japan are startled by the disclosure of moral conditions there. If there were time, I could give evidence for these assertions. Suffice it to say that, as Count Okuma declared in a personal interview, it is easier to adopt the material side of a civilization than its inner spirit; but unless these new nationalities can add to the material the ethical, the progress may prove to be retrogression.

5. *Social reform.*—The oriental social reformer has been very active in recent years. In India, his agitation has chiefly concerned the two great institutions of caste and the family. The minute subdivision of the people of India into hundreds or even thousands of endogamous subdivisions, many of which have but a comparatively small membership, has resulted in an interbreeding which has reduced the virility of the race. Caste is an almost insurmountable barrier to the creation of a true public spirit or to hearty co-operation between the sections of society. The range of sympathy is narrowed, as a member of one caste has no feeling of obligation to assist a member of another caste. Millions, who are below even the lowest of castes, are condemned by the caste system to an existence which is too often unworthy of a human being and with no possibility of relief. Closely connected with the caste system is the institution of child marriage, which has made present-day India the offspring of children, which puts upon mere boys and girls the

responsibilities of marriage, saps the vitality and ambition of the boy fathers, and prevents the education of the girl mothers. Racial deterioration and physical suffering are other results of the prevailing marriage customs, while the position of widows and the joint-family system bring in their turn evils all their own. All these evils are fully recognized by the leaders of the social-reform movement and one can read such condemnations by them of these customs as no foreigner would dare to make. Progress has been made, caste is in many respects disintegrating, and the agitation for raising the marriage age of girls, for the remarriage of widows, especially child widows, and for inter-caste marriages has not been without results, some of which are seen on the statute book. At the same time, the present nationalistic movement tends strongly toward a reactionary clinging to those institutions which are peculiarly Indian, and the agitators are stronger in talking than in acting. The influence of the ignorant and intensely conservative mothers, wives, and other female relatives, often living together in one joint-family establishment, is frequently so strong as to overcome the convictions of the social reformer and lead him to violate his own principles in the marriage of his daughters. Then, too, it is difficult for the Indian to stand up boldly and defy the conventions of society. Social control is often stronger than the power of individual initiative.

One of the social reforms most agitated in China is the natural-foot movement. So rapidly is this spreading, that the time may not be far distant when no girl in China will undergo the physical suffering, with its resulting disabilities, which comes from binding the feet.

These movements mean also that woman is coming to her own. While, as has already been said, she has never been without her influence, yet she has too often been denied education and freedom to develop her own individuality. In India, the government, and the Christian, Moslem, and Hindu communities are now all providing schools for girls, and educated young men are demanding educated wives, who can be real companions in their intellectual life and social work, as well as the mothers of

their children. There is already a new woman in China, but, like all other pioneers, she tends to go to the other extreme, and these new women are not always models. Many of them are too bold, openly and brazenly defy all conventions of Chinese society, and do not always know where liberty ends and license begins.

Haltingly and imperfectly, yet nevertheless truly, the movements of social reform are seeking so to readjust the institutions and customs of their countries as to secure greater social efficiency and make the entire population stronger and more intelligent. The elements which hinder the development of a strong and broad personality are gradually weakening and the tendency is in the direction of greater conformity to western standards.

6. *Ethical reform.*—The ethical standards of the Orient have changed greatly under western influence. It must be confessed at the outset that all western influence has not been ethically helpful. The moral conditions of the port cities are a disgrace to that western civilization upon the representatives of which the chief responsibility rests. There can be found in the bookstalls of Japan and Korea pictures and postcards of a sort all too familiar to us of the West, but which formerly Japan would never have tolerated outside of a brothel. Nearly every nation has its intoxicating beverages, but these are usually less injurious physically and morally than the strongest western liquors, which have been introduced into the Orient by westerners, and which those who imitate the foreigners are beginning to use, often to excess. Westerners are trying to drive out of China the Chinese pipe, which is used almost universally, and to substitute the cigarette. The effect is physically harmful and at the same time impoverishing, a week's or at least a month's supply of cigarettes costing nearly as much as a year's supply of tobacco for the Chinese pipe.

On the other hand, it is undeniable that there has been a great ethical revival throughout the great nations of Asia. India has been going through a process of house-cleaning and the immoralities connected with their religious ceremonies are being

reduced. Teachers devise sports to prevent their pupils from sharing in the ribaldry, if not shameless indecencies, connected with the great festival of *Holi*, which so terribly belies the connotation of its name to English ears. Many temple cars, with their obscene carvings, are now kept under cover when not in actual use. The marriage of girls to the gods and their condemnation to a life of prostitution is now under the ban.

China is in the midst of its great anti-opium crusade, and it looks as if, within a reasonable time, the world would witness, for the first time, the spectacle of a great nation curing itself of a habit which was tending to ruin it physically and ethically.

Ethical standards in Japan have been raised, although there are many discouraging features in the life of present-day Japan. But note this, the whole tone of present-day literature, including magazines and periodicals, is no longer Buddhistic but Christian. Japan means so to readjust her customs and standards that no western people can point at her a finger of scorn.

In this whole matter of ethical reform, the chief difficulty is in the character of the leaders, some of whom are themselves faithless to the new standards. In other words, the greatest need of the Orient today is for a larger number of intelligent leaders, unselfish and ethically sound, and for the spread of a spirit of enlightened progress through the ranks of the common people.

It is just at this point that the missionary enters as an influential agent in the work of social reform and seeks to meet these needs and to furnish those elements which others cannot easily supply. The remainder of the paper will be devoted to the relative success of this undertaking, by answering for the missionaries the four questions already mentioned, as to their character, principles, methods, and results.

INFLUENCE OF MISSIONARIES

1. *Character*.—Let me be perfectly frank. In speaking of missionaries, my statements do not apply to every individual missionary. It is very likely true that no criticism ever brought against the missionary was not true as regards some one indi-

vidual, though it just as certainly did not apply to the body as a whole. There are black sheep in the loftiest professions here at home, and there have been a few black sheep among the missionaries abroad. There are Christian bodies in America and Europe whose standards of education leave much to be desired, and naturally their representatives abroad fall short of the ideal. It is not fair to condemn the missionary body because of these individuals any more than it would be fair to condemn the profession of law because of the charlatans found among lawyers, or the body of social workers in America because some who have taken up social work here have had an inferior training or character. So, when I speak of the character of the missionary body, I have in mind those who are really doing the work, the leaders who set the pace and determine the policies for the whole body. And let me say that there is not one of the large influential mission boards which is not constantly raising its standards for appointment.

During the two years of our trip, it was our privilege to meet more than a thousand missionaries, in one hundred and sixty-six mission stations, maintained by thirty-two mission boards of the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and the Continent. We were guests in nearly one hundred and fifty missionary homes. Hence I have a basis for my generalization when I declare that for character, ability, education, and grasp of their problems, they are a body of which the West should be proud. While other westerners often reveal the lower aspects of our civilization, they stand firmly for the best, and, in the midst of moral conditions the down-pull of which we can hardly realize, embody the highest ideals of service and of life. Their training exceeds that of those who are engaged in similar work at home. While the majority are deficient in sociological training, yet the leaders have a grasp upon their problems superior to that of most clergymen at home. A little more than a year ago, one of the leading social workers of this country listened to addresses by a number of missionaries. At the close, he remarked enthusiastically, that he would like to send these men through the United States, to give the clergymen of our country their

grasp of social and religious problems. The missionaries are closer to the life of the people than any other foreigners and usually have the best understanding of their temper and life. They are trusted by the people and honored by the rulers. Missionaries have been decorated by the rulers of India and Japan. Yet the missionary body is pleading for more training, and today the leading mission boards are sending out honor and fellowship men and women, and are insisting upon the fullest training, often including graduate work, and upon proved efficiency. The difficulty in securing recruits is to find men and women who conform to a constantly higher standard.

2. *Principles of missionary work.*—The principles upon which the missionary force is working are such as to commend themselves to students of social evolution. This is not to say that no mistakes have been made in the past, or that no mistakes are being made even today; but it is to claim that the great underlying principles today are sound.

It is sometimes claimed that the social structure of the Orient has been fashioned by the people, that it admirably meets their needs, that in many respects oriental civilization is superior to occidental, that it is impertinent or worse for westerners to attempt to effect changes, and that what changes are made must be brought about by the people themselves through a gradual evolutionary process, without the introduction from the outside of any western elements. To much that is here implied, the missionary heartily assents. He gladly concedes the excellences in character and organization which he finds in the Orient. He not only believes that the changes should come about through native leadership—I use the term “native,” now almost tabooed in missionary circles, with not the slightest derogatory meaning, but merely as the antithesis of “foreign”—but he urges the natives to take the lead and is glad when he himself can step into the background. At the same time, he believes, for reasons already explained, that there are great social weaknesses and evils in oriental society, which cannot be corrected without the introduction of new ethical elements, and that the thought and experience of the West can supplement and assist the efforts

of the Orient in behalf of social welfare. Moreover, he believes that it is possible to secure the naturalization into one civilization of elements worked out by another civilization. Japan's entrance as a world-power has been due to her ability to do this very thing. Asiatic countries have shown their ability in the past to adopt new ideals, as witness the spread of Buddhism from India throughout southern and eastern Asia. Moreover, the diplomat and the commercial traveler will not let the Orient alone, and if the material civilization of the West is to be introduced into the Orient, with its less admirable as well as its more admirable elements, then the West should offer also the best elements of its life and thought—elements, too, which had their origin, not in the West, but in the Orient itself. In other words, the missionary movement goes on the supposition that it is not only legitimate to introduce new social ideals and to render new social service to the East, but that, without this spiritual welding together of East and West, the Orient can never realize its own possibilities of development, and the world as a whole cannot solve its problems of social life and relationships.

More specifically, the missionary believes that his work should be constructive rather than destructive, positive and never negative. He delights to take what he finds and build upon it, or to indicate new methods by which the people can better realize their own aspirations and even strive after higher ideals. In these days one almost never hears a missionary attack beliefs or customs unless he is forced to it by the people themselves. Rather, he preaches and lives a spirit of brotherly helpfulness. This has not always been so, and there are still here and there missionaries who err at this point, but as a whole the missionary movement is thoroughly helpful, positive, and constructive.

Again, the leaders of the missionary movement have no desire to westernize the Orient; they would do all in their power to preserve the best there is in oriental civilization, and to shut out the undesirable elements of western life. While they are seeking to Christianize the life of the East, they are striving for a society which shall be thoroughly oriental and which shall break as little as possible with the past. They are not trying

to raise in China or India any exotic, but to graft upon present-day oriental society higher ethical elements, which are themselves oriental. Great mistakes have been made at this point, and there is a tendency, upon the part of many orientals, to ape, in unnecessary and undesirable fashion, occidental customs, a tendency which the missionary leaders not only do not encourage but do all in their power to discourage. Western elements are bound to be introduced but the missionary advocates as few changes as possible and only such as are demanded by the physical, intellectual, or ethical interests of the people. These changes, too, he realizes must come about gradually.

Once more, the missionary looks forward to the day when the lead shall be taken by the native and he himself shall remain only as a helper. At this point, the missionary work has been, perhaps, the weakest. It is difficult for the aggressive westerner, who has been trained to lead, to give the authority to a man of a darker skin, who is often less efficient and aggressive than his white brother. But the conviction has grown strikingly in these last years that the leadership must pass as rapidly as possible into native hands, even though for a time the work may be carried on with less efficiency. In Japan, especially, the Japanese have been given the control, the same process is going on in China and India, and Turkey shows instances where native leadership has been successfully exercised for a generation.

3. *Methods of missionary work.*—The missionary uses a large proportion of the methods approved by religious, educational, philanthropic, and social workers in the United States. So far as means and strength permit, he seeks to meet all the varied needs of the Orient, some of which were mentioned at the beginning of this paper. There are three general lines of his work which call for attention, namely, education, industry, and medicine.

With perhaps an exception here and there, the missionary has been the educational pioneer all through the Orient. He it was who introduced western educational methods and first taught western science, history, and philosophy. To three missionary educators, Carey, Duff, and Wilson, who received the support of

government officials, India owes the inception of its comprehensive educational system. Even today a very large proportion of the educational work in India is under the supervision of the missionary, who receives generous grants-in-aid from the government. While some of the higher educational work under missionary auspices is now suffering from lack of funds for equipment and staff, yet it has certain qualities which put it ethically, at least, in a class by itself, and certain of the Christian colleges, such as those at Madras, Lahore, Bombay, and Calcutta, are fully as efficient as any others in India. Especially in the education of women, the Christian schools are the best.

In China, also, the missionary was the pioneer and, while schools are now springing up everywhere under official and private auspices, yet the Christian schools are generally the most efficient, if not the best equipped; and the best government schools in China are those in the imperial province of Chi-li, which were organized by a former missionary.

In Japan, Christians have been at the forefront of the new education and, until recently, the Christian schools were the most efficient. It must be admitted that, because of lack of financial support and the rapid development of government schools, the Christian schools in Japan are relatively less influential than they were; yet the need of such schools has not passed and the best Christian schools have certain qualities which other schools do not possess.

In the nearer Orient, the Christian schools in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and European Turkey stand in a class by themselves. Robert College trained the leaders for Bulgaria, and leaders of the Young Turk party, not themselves graduates of Christian schools, have publicly confessed that they would never have dared to strike for a new Turkey had it not been for the permeating influence of the Christian schools, whose graduates were everywhere on the side of liberty, justice, equality, and fraternity, the four watchwords of New Turkey.

Mission education has had and still has the tendency to be too western, though here the responsibility has not always been on the missionary himself; it has always been hampered by lack of

funds; but the mission schools have, in general, been more thorough, had better trained teachers, native and foreign, and turned out more efficient men and women than secular schools. While the new secular education is almost always agnostic in its tendency, the mission school has been positively Christian, great attention has been paid to matters of character-building, and whether the graduates were or were not professing Christians, they have gone forth with a sturdiness of character which averaged above that of the graduates of other schools. Persons connected officially with secular education have sent their children to Christian schools. Employers often prefer the graduate of the Christian school because of the results of this character-training.

In the matter of industrial training, much has been done to furnish for the new industry men of good training who also possess the Christian ideas of brotherhood and of the dignity and value of the individual. The Allahabad Christian College gives the best course in engineering to be found in India today, and many of the best manual training and technical schools in India are under missionary auspices. The missionary, too, has paid special attention to raising the economic condition of the Indian villagers, who form the bulk of the population, nine-tenths of which live in places of less than five thousand inhabitants. The problem has not been solved, but the best work in improving the hand loom, with which tens of thousands eke out their living, and inventing new machines for rope making, has been done by the missionary. He is now tackling the problems of Indian agriculture and the training of village Christians in habits of industry, thrift, and economy. He is thus contributing directly to the development of village and factory industry and to the furnishing of a higher type of leader for the economic development of India.

In the realm of medicine, the missionary has done a truly admirable work. Some of the best surgeons in the world are on the mission field, and the most serious operations are successfully performed under conditions which would be deemed utterly impossible by the ordinary practitioner at home. By

introducing vaccination, by teaching the principles of sanitation and hygiene, as well as by the direct work of relieving suffering, the medical missionary has made a distinct contribution to social welfare, the value of which cannot be appreciated by one who does not know the methods of the old untrained medical men. The hospital and dispensary which are said to give the largest number of treatments in the world are in north China, where the missionaries in charge are the only thoroughly trained physicians and surgeons for two millions of people. The first insane asylum in China was opened by a missionary. The missionary, too, began from the outset to train hospital assistants, nurses, and doctors, to translate into the vernacular or to write in the language of the people medical treatises, and today some of the best medical schools in Asia are taught by missionaries.

In addition to these lines of work, one can find missionaries and native Christians who are using all the most approved methods of western philanthropy for the assistance of defectives, dependents, and even delinquents. In fact, the missionary has been a pioneer in putting his religious work upon a social basis and attempting to satisfy all the needs of men.

4. *Results.*—Are the results of missionary work adequate and permanent?

There are two factors which enter into the answer to this question—the character of the Christian community, which is the direct product of the work, and the indirect effect upon the community at large. In both respects, the missionary has obtained results which I believe are both adequate and permanent, and which are a distinct contribution to the social progress of the Orient.

It is rash to make sweeping generalizations, but I am firmly convinced, upon the basis of evidence which cannot even be summarized here, that in general the effect of missionary work upon those who have become Christians has been to improve their condition in every respect. They are more intelligent, more prosperous, have higher standards of living, economic and sanitary, are more efficient, have a better family life, and are stronger ethically than those of the same classes who have not come under

the direct influence of the missionary and his native colaborers. This is not to say that there are no Christians whose lives are inconsistent with their professions, or that the Christians have risen entirely superior to the ethical standards they have inherited and which prevail about them. This statement, too, would not hold of many who pose as Christians upon the strength of a shorter or a longer term in a Christian school, but it is true of the great mass of the real Christians. In many countries, the Christians are not only ahead of the other members of the same classes but they are the most progressive section in the community. This is the more noteworthy because often, notably in India, the missionary has worked largely among the lower and more ignorant and degraded classes. The Christian community in India is growing so much faster than the population, that if the present rate could be maintained permanently—which, of course, is highly improbable, the law of diminishing returns holding even in missionary work—India would within a comparatively short time be Christian, and it includes a fair proportion of high-caste men. The remarkable fact, however, is that, within one or two generations, the force of Christianity has raised many outcasts so that in point of education they are equal or even superior to the Brahmin. The public girls' schools in India have had a large proportion of Christian teachers because the Christian community contained by far the highest percentage of educated women. In China, their higher degree of intelligence and honor makes it difficult to retain in mission employ the graduates of Christian schools, who are in demand for positions in the industrial world and in government schools. In Japan, the Christians have been in the very forefront of all movements of philanthropy and reform.

These Christian communities are not the beneficiaries of the missionary but are increasingly self-reliant. They are generous in the support of Christian work. For instance, it does not sound like pauperization to be told that the native Christians connected with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions contribute to the work more than one-third as much as is given by Americans through that mission board, that this means

a *per capita* gift by these oriental Christians of three and one-half times that of their helpers in America, and that, if allowance were made for the difference in wages and the purchasing power of money, such a contribution would be equivalent in terms of days' work or of sacrifice to a *per capita* gift more than forty times that of the American contributors to this work.

Turning to the indirect results, we are confronted by the impossibility of differentiating accurately the effect of the missionary's influence and that of other western influence. It is not too much to assert, however, that nearly every one of the reforms which has done so much for the social welfare of the Orient received at least its initial impulse from the missionary. This is true in India of the abolition of the cruelties of *sati*, of the improved treatment of widows, especially of child widows, of the agitation against caste, and of the purifying of the religious ceremonial by the elimination of the grossest practices. It is true in China of the anti-foot-binding movement, and the anti-opium movement has always had missionary support. It has been true in Japan, although the direction of such movements there has so long since passed into Japanese hands that the origin of the initial impulse has been almost if not quite forgotten.

Whatever the origin, it is undeniably true that the effect of western influence has been to change the whole atmosphere of the more intelligent sections of the oriental communities. Moslem and Hindu leaders in India are striving to interpret their scriptures into harmony with western thought. Buddhism in Ceylon and in Japan has been quickened into a life of new activity and helpfulness. As has already been explained, the whole atmosphere and ethical background of Japanese literature has ceased to be Buddhistic and has become western. A new type of manhood and womanhood is being evolved, new standards have been set up, and the future of oriental social development is full of promise; but this is on one condition, namely, that the material development does not outstrip the moral, and the race for industrial supremacy is restrained by the Christian standards of the worth of the individual and of the true value of the ethical. It is chiefly through the missionary and other Christian

workers that this aspect of western influence is exerted; and, if I may be permitted to express my personal conviction, only Christianity, by transforming the dominant purpose from one of self-aggrandizement into one of service, can furnish the necessary dynamic for a social evolution that shall be along the lines of the highest helpfulness. These are weighty reasons why the work of the missionary should be supported. Whether or not we believe firmly in the religious work of the missionary, he it is who is furnishing an essential element to oriental social progress, an element without which the effect of western influence can be only a mixture of a blessing and a curse. Hon. Seth Low is reported to have said that he went to the great World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh last June believing that missions were a pious undertaking; he came away convinced that they are a world-force. That is the conclusion to which an impartial study of present movements in the Orient leads, and hence it is of profound significance, not only to the student of religious phenomena, but to the investigator of oriental social conditions, that we are now witnessing a great revival of interest in the work of foreign missions, which are enlisting the support of substantial men of affairs, of journalists, of diplomats, and of government officials. In this lies one great ground for a hopeful confidence in the future.

DISCUSSION

S. H. WAINRIGHT, PRESIDING ELDER, ST. LOUIS DISTRICT, M.E. CHURCH, SOUTH

Like the Ten Commandments in our part of the world, the Five Relationships have the mold in which the social life of the far East has been cast. As moral tenets they have been handed down from the sages and as Heaven does not change so they have never changed. The observance of them, according to Chinese ideas, has ever marked the sage and it is because of them that China is called the "Middle Kingdom," for these tenets neither fall short of nor go beyond what is right.

With their corresponding virtues these orders of relationships are: between father and son, filial piety; between sovereign and minister, loyalty; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between elder and younger, a proper order; and between friend and friend, fidelity.

The conception of these relationships collectively and singly is undergoing change, especially in Japan, while the diversities of powers set in

operation by industrialism and commerce, and increasing opportunities, have called for new relationships not included in the traditional scheme.

The one-sided character of the relations, as conceived by the sages, is being overcome. On the side of sovereign, parent, and husband, a new accent is placed upon duty; while on the side of minister, child, and wife, a consciousness of rights is being experienced never recognized before. Instead of the virtue of dependence which has expressed the relationship hitherto, thoughtful men are casting about for a virtue more expressive of the relationship of equality, a virtue which they find in our conception of justice. Freedom has been confined to those who are superior in the social relationship and was the freedom which all tyrants possess. There has been a broadening so as to include inferiors as well as superiors in the common society of freely acting personalities; there has been rather a movement in this direction. Social movement in the East is the very reverse in direction of tendencies in the West. I speak of the present time. There, the movement is away from the social to the individual, and, here, from the individual to the social. There, they are seeking to free the individual from the limitations of social relations, while here, we are seeking to restrain the individual by greater imposition of social relations. There, the tendency of society is in the direction of a wider and more intense competition, while here, we are disposed to turn away from competition in the direction of a social co-operation. There, the desire is to secure rights, while here, we feel the need of greater emphasis upon duties. There, the social virtues which constitute the minor harmonies of collective life are giving place to a universal principle, the absence of which has been a serious defect in eastern ethics; while here, we are seeking to discover the application of the universal principle of justice in the minor harmonies that should exist in an ideal social order. One other tendency may be mentioned: the drift is away from the moral ideal to self-interest or utility, the pursuit of which has been condemned by the Confucianists. Mencius said to the Prince who came to learn something that would be of utility to him, "Why speak of utility? There is nothing but righteousness and benevolence." Shall I say that a reverse tendency can be discerned in our national life and that there is a recoil from the utilitarianism dominant in the past half-century? In regard to this last tendency it may be of interest to state that the missionaries have a better appreciation of the Confucian ideals than the present generation of Japanese, who are turning to utilitarianism. In truth, Confucianism will have no future except that which Christianity will give to it.

Considering the order of relationships singly, there has been a marked change in that between parent and child. A generation of children enlightened through a study of western education does not yield as cheerful obedience as the Confucian ideal demands to parents who belong to the old order of things. The effect of the new influence is seen upon the custom

of early abdication practiced by the father as head of the house. The early retirement of the parents from active life has shifted their burden to the younger members of the family. Professor Ross has spoken of the pressure of population as the outstanding sociological fact in the far East. One of the causes of this pressure, in addition to those mentioned by him, has been the limited area hitherto of the producing population. This has been due in part to Buddhist influence. Confucianism favors production. The *Great Learning* says: "Let the producers be many, the consumers few." The *Doctrine of the Mean* says: "Bring out the valuable things from the mighty mountains." The *Book of Ceremonies* says: "A man is to be despised who deliberately throws aside precious materials." Not so with Buddhism. It encourages abdication, retirement, meditation, other-worldliness. It has drawn off a large portion of the population from productive pursuits. There is at the present time, however, an increasing number in Japan who extend the years of active effort far beyond the age of forty, the time when they began to think of retirement. Generally speaking, the pressure of population, even in the densely settled Far East, is not due so much to over-population as to under-production.

"Giri," literally translated "duty," is a type of filial devotion unknown in the West. The most common example is the selling of themselves into slavery, by the daughters of the family, in order that with their earnings they may support their parents. Strange to say those who have thus bartered away their womanhood have called forth the highest praise for their deeds. The selling of virtue has been regarded as almost the highest virtue. Fortunately such an excessive interpretation of the obligation of child to parent is yielding to the influence of Christianity and the daughters are learning of an obedience to parents more in accord with the rights of their own personality.

Another example of the assertion of independence on the part of the children is the prevalence of courtship in the great centers, a thing unknown until recent times. The matches prearranged by parents are set aside by those who seek the marriage relationship on the basis of personal affection.

As regards the relation between husband and wife, a marked change is taking place, shown in the rapid decline of the practice of concubinage, the legal right of the wife to divorce, as well as the husband, under the new law codes, the application of the word chastity to the one as well as to the other, and, in the custom becoming more prevalent, of the husband and wife appearing together on public occasions.

The bearing of modern ideas upon the relation between sovereign and minister is shown by the emphatic statement of Chang Chi Tung when he said, "Know, then, that the obligation of subject to sovereign is incompatible with republicanism." If so, we shall see what will become of the traditional idea of this relationship, and of the sovereign as the fountain of all political authority as constitutional government advances. Government in

China and Japan is paternal and not socialistic. Even in Japan the extension of government control now taking place is paternalistic in character and is not due to socialistic convictions, but is the result of the necessities of war. The question may be of interest to sociologists as to whether government will pass directly from the paternalistic to the socialistic type in these countries under western influence, or whether the course will be by way of the individual. If the latter, who is to create the individual?

The relation between friend and friend is being expanded into a conception of universal brotherhood. One of the ancients in China said, "Our country is only one district of the Eastern Sea," meaning that there are other countries. Yet the Chinese have never had a conception of humanity as a whole and of all men as occupying common ground. No expression is of more frequent occurrence in Chinese classics than "Tenka" or "all under heaven," meaning society or the people. But the context invariably shows that "all under heaven" is a term which refers only to those under Chinese skies. A great obstacle in Japan in the way of a free recognition of the rights of man and the brotherhood of nations is the Shinto mythology upon which the Imperial House is founded.

A new problem is arising with the rise of capital and labor as to the relation between the employer and the employed. A need is felt for a new virtue not included in the ancient scheme. The type of the ideal relationship in the factory cannot be found in that between sovereign and minister, or between parent and child, or between husband and wife, or between the elder and the younger, or even in the relation between friend and friend. Though manufacture has shifted from the domestic circle to the great factory plants, no transfer of the domestic virtues is possible; and though the old feudal population has assumed a new relationship after entering into industry—the relation of employer and employed—the virtue of loyalty is not effective in workshop or factory. What that virtue is which should bind men together in the new industrial order in harmonious relationship the Japanese and Chinese are seeking to discover. We, on our side of the world, are interested in finding the answer to that same question.

EDWIN L. EARP, DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

I wish to express my hearty appreciation of the two excellent and illuminating papers just presented by Dr. Ross and Dr. Capen. I wish to speak of two things that have been suggested to me by Professor Ross's paper. The first is this. His graphic portrayal of the social conditions of the people of inner China, coming from one who has witnessed them as a scientist without any religious bias, is one of the strongest motive forces for missionary appeal, both to men to give of their means for missions in China, and for young men and women to invest their lives in this field, that I have ever heard or read. The second is what he said with reference to democracy in China: that it would take twice as long for China to advance in

western civilization as it took Japan, because of the difference in the forms of government prevailing in these countries respectively. This is an important fact that some people in our own country need to remember, that an over-individualized democracy is incompatible with orderly social control, and that there are governments that have the name of democracy where there is less freedom and orderly control than in governments that do not have the name. Some South American republics furnish illustrations. Therefore it seems to me that sociology and political science should play an important part in the preparation of the missionary and the foreign teacher who together are to be the most important factors in the development of that orderly social control that Professor Ross has shown us is so greatly needed in inner China.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Dr. Ross's estimate that awakened China may need at least double the time required by Japan to bring her ideals into a like degree of harmony with occidental standards is highly interesting and it appears to be well grounded in the facts which he has presented. Especially impressive is his disclosure of the immense ethnic and cultural mass which has to be leavened before that goal can be reached. The lack of a social consciousness, the extreme individualism as to standards of conduct, must prove a hindrance which will be very hard to overcome. Still, all things considered, if China can reach the point where Japan now is, even in the double term, that will be making amazing speed in social transformation. Three facts seem to sustain the view that China's advance will be rapid:

1. The Chinese have a lofty ideal of individual worth. Social or civic rank rests upon an educational test. There is no hereditary nobility, no aristocracy of birth. Thus, at bottom, the civic ideal of the Chinese is thoroughly democratic. The conception of what constitutes a proper education may not be high. Until recently, the quality of a candidate's education may have been determined by mere memory tests in antiquated classics, affording very little help in the problems of actual life. Still, the Chinese ideal of civic honor is an educational ideal. As a factor in civilization, this truth can hardly be overvalued. The new China will not need a new incentive in this regard. She will need only to satisfy the educational ideal which has existed for centuries, by directing it toward the science, the learning, of the West.

2. The high degree of self-control which the respective provinces of the empire enjoy is a good preparation for local self-government under the coming constitutional régime. We are told, for instance, that in large measure each province creates and controls its own army; and that in various governmental functions it is nearly autonomous. It may not prove to be a mere fancy to suppose, for this reason, that in a comparatively short time China may become a federal state. Will it be on the German or on the American pattern?

3. The Chinese have high ethical ideals. In its original or uncorrupted form, much of the philosophy of Confucius is of decided value, even when gauged by western standards. Moreover, we hear that as a part of the general awakening among the Chinese the purer teachings of Confucius are being revived. Then the high standard of commercial ethics attained by the Chinese is of real significance in this connection. In the official service there may be monstrous graft. This is due to the extreme individualism, to the lack of social consciousness; but in commerce the Chinese have developed a remarkably advanced ideal of honor, of ethical conduct. Surely, in the new and larger industrial life which is bound to come with the reconstructed China, this achievement will be a precious asset. I feel sure that the Chinese, mentally, socially, and ethically, are destined to play a great rôle in civilization.

REPLY BY E. W. CAPEN TO QUESTION OF PROFESSOR SMALL

The introductory words of the President, stating that I was sent on this tour of investigation by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and which it seemed courteous for me not to deny, were not in strict accordance with the facts. For three years previous to the trip, I had been engaged in literary and research work for the American Board, but this connection ceased before I started, and the trip was entirely a private one for the purpose of studying the social conditions in the East as they had been affected by and as they in turn affected the work of the missionaries. It was only my relation to the president of the American Board which gave the trip even the semblance of being official. Hence I have never made any regular report to the officers of the board, although I did from time to time give them an account of my impressions and conclusions. So far as I know, there is no position taken in the paper under discussion which would not commend itself to the officers of the board. The American Board has been one of the pioneers in putting its missionary work upon the broadest basis, and it has for many years been developing the work of education, industrial training, and medical relief. Most of the larger mission boards are one with it in this position, and it was interesting to note that at the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh last June, at which delegates from all mission boards and mission lands, officers, missionaries, native leaders, etc., were present, the whole tone and trend of discussion was on the broadest lines. There are mission boards and missionaries who do not yet admit fully this point of view, but the leaders in the work at home and abroad are men who are fully in touch with the best thought of the age and who are committed to carrying on the missionary work in the way that will make it the most influential in putting the Christian touch upon the awakening Orient.